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ABSTRACT

It is suggested that black education is a good subject for those who are interested in development and international education. These several reasons are discussed: 1) the educational system operating in black communities may in terms of comparative education methodology be compared to that operating in many colonial and ex-colonial areas, it may also be examined in terms of class structure; 2) if the effects of Negritude and the Moslem faith are thought to be important variables in the school and to have similar effects on students in different nations including the United States, use of the comparative approach is also appropriate; 3) where nations are interested in strategies to ameliorate the lot of disadvantaged groups and/or to secure integration, the United States provides some excellent case studies; 4) one can compare separate black and white educational structures in terms of operations, manpower objectives, etc. The bibliography contains these sections: 1) history; 2) political, legal, and civil rights; 3) socio-cultural attributes, class structure, and race; 4) cognitive development and socio-conceptual styles; 5) the family; 6) language and dialects; 7) learning and intelligence; 8) education, employment, and vocations; 9) urban education and case studies; 10) educational surveys; 11) equality and quality education, and, 12) innovative educational and social strategies. (SBE)

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II. BLACK EDUCATION AND BLACK SOCIETY IN THE UNITED STATES: A BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR DEVELOPMENT EDUCATORS

by
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INTERNATIONAL AND DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION PROGRAM

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

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International and Development Education Program
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PREFACE

Many suggestions have been made recently that the field of international development education should have more direct relevance to our domestic problems in education for disadvantaged minority groups. Several of our advanced graduate students in International and Development Education, who came to us after significant overseas experiences related to development education, have taken up a challenge to demonstrate this relevance through research and action projects. Acting as consultants in the evaluation of domestic community action projects, participating in local educational surveys, and developing dissertation research projects in our immediate urban evnrionment, they have been seeking to develop the substantial relationships between international and local efforts to achieve development objectives through educational programs.

In order to conceptualize one area of the relationship between international and domestic development education, Mr. Colin De'Ath developed this paper on black education. Presented to the IDEP faculty as a project for the doctoral comprehensive examinations, it was felt to be an important statement for further distribution at this time. It should be noted that other sectors of our society also have distinctive implications for development education. Some that might be examined include poverty groups generally, urban society generally, and other minority groups.

In addition to his paper, Mr. De'Ath has assembled a relevant bibliography of materials on black education and black society in the United States. This bibliography forms the second section of this publication.

Mr. De'Ath is a native of New Zealand with a decade of experience in the administration of Australian Pacific Island Territories. He has been enrolled in IDEP for two years under a fellowship received from the East-West Center, University of Hawaii, and is now a Teaching Fellow in the Program.

John Singleton
Chairman, IDEP

America is free to choose whether the Negro shall remain her liability or become her opportunity.

Gunnar Myrdal (Swedish)
1944

Our children are being criminally shortchanged in the public school system of America.

Malcolm X (Negro)
1964

The cruel irony...emerges: that Black Power, or power of black men over their own communities and own destiny, is something for whites to give and to withhold.

August Meier (Jewish)
1968

I. BLACK EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES AND ITS RELEVANCE TO INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

Point of View of the Writer

For ideological reasons, and because its resources allow it, the United States is involved in development in many parts of the world. Development for the writer in this context has overtones of deliberate external intervention usually in the affairs of a nation or a region to secure societal change and/or modification of the physical environment. Such intervention is purposive and volitional. Aims and goals are therefore implicit.

There is a whole array of tools, devices and strategies for effecting development. Modification of existing formal and informal educational institutions and/or the creation of new ones is but one aspect of the total development process. Emphasis, however, is on change and on the application of existing educational knowledge in alien (to the United States), dynamic situations.

Whereas development education seems to be an attempt to apply what is already known in the field of education across national and cultural boundaries, international education has at one level a somewhat different dimension. For the writer at this level, international education as it is most commonly used is not built around the interventionist philosophy. It tends to place emphasis on "understanding" different educational systems and parts of systems on a descriptive basis and on the dissemination and exchange of information on the premise that international "understanding" leads to good relations, peace, tolerance, world mobility, etc.

At the second level an international educator may become an interventionist by becoming involved in a technical sense in such overseas projects as the teaching of English, new media, etc.

Comparative education has a number of dimensions--it is concerned with describing educational institutions at a particular time, usually on a static basis, and place ("another" nation). The comparative educator gathers knowledge with the hope the results of research done at one point in time and space will be comparable to data collected and analyzed elsewhere.

The three approaches are complementary rather than being inimical to each other. The development educator who plans to effect change in any society must know (1) a great deal about the existing society and the institutions which he hopes to modify, (2) something about the effects of previous efforts elsewhere using similar plans and strategies

to those he proposes, and (3) what educational goals and objectives are and what indicators there are during program implementation to show that these goals are being achieved. The international and/or comparative educator is useful to the development educator in providing information on existing educational structures and programs. The international educator and the comparative educator both seek, often unconsciously, to equate systems and describe or measure them using the same yardstick. Unfortunately, descriptive language as a yardstick, like other "measures," tends to force unlike institutions and behavioral phenomena into unrealistic categories. The results may become somewhat ludicrous when whole national educational systems are compared on a structural basis without allowing for cultural variables.

If the development educator is prepared to apply his skills in a professional capacity, it is incumbent on him to state his theoretical bona fides and/or the rationale of which he is attempting to operate. This is a very difficult task given the present state of knowledge in the social sciences and in education. Without going into great detail, it is sufficient to say that there are those development educators who see education as the vital key, who see it as the basis for all other development. This group obviously held sway at the Addis Ababa Conference in 1961. At the other extreme, there are educators such as Braithwaite who see the schools (pre-university) as presently having a negligible role in change and development.[1] Somewhere between the two would probably be the systems-oriented educator, such as Daniel Levine and those produced by OECD, who see education as having a function in change and development but only insofar as it is part of, and responsive to, a larger system. The literature suggests that despite disagreements about the degree of influence education has on development, it should be currently instrumental in helping to achieve the following objectives:

1. Better physical conditions for individuals--housing, food supplies, health and educational facilities. Improvements in this area can be fairly easily measured.

2. Better human relations. Improvements in this area are more difficult to measure--they are generally inferred from indices on a behavioral level showing changes in the incidence of violence, insanity, suicide, incarceration, etc., and on a perceptual level from what people state about their own condition, e.g., whether they feel threatened, feel they have very little control over their future or environment, feel they are disadvantaged vis-a-vis others, etc.

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[1]Braithwaite, E. W. "Education, Social Change, and the New Zealand Economy." New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies. Vol. 2, No. 1, May 1967, pp. 32-62.

3. Better kinds of human activities--more satisfying employment and more challenging leisure pursuits. Measures similar to those used in "1" and "2" would be appropriate to measure improvements in this area.

Development educators tend not to conflict in terms of broad development objectives but rather in terms of instrumental aims, short-term priorities and the kinds and timing of various strategies.

How does black education in the United States fit into this schema which, so far, has been cross-nationally or cross-culturally oriented? If one views human collectivities including nations, school groupings, etc., as systems with the individual human being as the basic unit, it is possible to think in terms of macro-systems and micro-systems. In looking at the United States, the nation would be a macro-system (or total society) whereas smaller groupings, say the neighboorhood school, the ghetto, etc., would be micro-systems. The criteria, at this stage, for isolating sub-systems tends to be somewhat arbitrary. In the United States situation it is suggested that race and ghetto habitation may be becoming valid criteria because the people within these groupings perceive that they have affinities, common living styles and symbols, and can exert leverage on the larger system through collective voting practices, violence, economic sanctions, etc.[2]

The thrust of this argument is that if one regards the world as a total system, which it is rapidly becoming, with hosts of sub-systems, including nations and other kinds of collectivities which cut across national boundaries, the idea of isolating, studying and even comparing educational minority group sub-systems cross-nationally, becomes relevant to the interests of the international and development educator. In this instance, it is suggested that black society and black education can be isolated on a number of levels for the purpose of research and that the problems revealed may parallel those in other areas where poverty, racial and cultural segregation are factors in education.[3]

The stance has been taken in what follows that in many respects the United States can be likened to two developing nations--one black and one white. In many respects the white nation is the less developed.

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[2]See, for example, the emphasis in this direction manifested in the writings of Malcolm X, Stokeley Carmichael and Eldridge Cleaver. But, interestingly enough treated rather more dubiously by the more humanistic writers such as James Baldwin, Harold Cruse and Ralph Ellison.

[3]Oscar Lewis attempts to isolate poverty as a variable in cross-cultural situations and through the family seek out its effects. This approach could be used to study the effects of various kinds of education in poverty areas.

An historical accident has thrown two physically different peoples together and it is at this point in time when some very serious questions are being hammered out about the basis on which relationships will continue. The writer as much as anyone else living in the United States at present is involved in the compromises which are taking place.

It is ironic that the black man who was used so extensively in the early phases of American economic development to provide physical labor on the plantations and in the mills should be called on again to contribute to the development process--this time as the vanguard of a social, political and cultural movement to humanize those around him.

For the writer there is also another aspect which is extremely interesting. By working and studying in a society in which various groups are excluded deliberately from certain activities and from the benefits of industrial production, the writer begins to get a glimmer of how white Americans also view other nations, their nationals and the development process--how they articulate and develop their interests through the use of money, violence and the creation of artificial scarcity, how they view cultural and ideological deviancy, how they view status, achievement, reward and the legitimacy of elites who have made it in other nations and who are allowed to persist on their terms (the international "Toms").

In a different context, I have assumed that the domestic American "problems" have definite relevance to problems in other nations where minority groups based on caste, cultural, class, and racial differences are attemtpting to define their "rights." To the extent that the U. S. successfully copes with its racial, poverty, minority, and urban problems, it will be able to meaningfully advise and assist in solving similar problems elsewhere. The parallels between domestic and foreign educational and social problems should be obvious--the challenges to solve these through innovational strategies, which could have wider application, are urgent and equally obvious.

From a methodological point of view, there has been an attempt to approach the problem in two ways. The first in terms of what degrees of differentiation between groups is possible at this particular point in time--particularly insofar as this relates to establishing identity and at the same time securing a portion of the big American economic pie for the black man. The second approach has been to look at the problem in terms of on what basis, over a longer period of time, will integration be possible. Obviously, there are many questions inherent in this second not-now-so-popular approach. Certainly, insidious dependency relationships should be eliminated. However, questions immediately arise as to how to accomplish this in a society in which such high value is placed on status and hierarchies and on the graduations of respect and dependency which are both a cause and effect in such relationships. Again, in the face of rapid technological integration, espeically in the media field, how can social diversity be maintained? Vertical stratification (class) is accepted and perpetuated mainly on the basis of wealth but not horizontal diversity based on other kinds of criteria (pluralism) in which relationships could be more egalitarian. It might well be that the Negro who wants to become

integrated into the existing highly structured hierarchial, closed system will eventually discover that he is eating ashes. He might also taste ashes if he sets up a parallel system based on similar assumptions regarding status, competition and valid indicators of "success." Despite U. S. black/white differences, the black responses to date to stressful situations have been drawn from a characteristically traditional American repertoire. Fortunately, some of the responses and strategies suggested by black leaders themselves are beginning to probe many of the basic American assumptions about humans especially insofar as these involve cultural absolutes and imperatives and the nature of social relationships, i.e., the bigger "problem."

The terms "Negro" and "black" have been used somewhat interchangeably--probably to have been consistent the term "Afro-American" should have been used throughout. However, the writer's lack of consistency probably reflects the current uncertainty of many black Americans about what symbols they wish to have associated with their <u>own</u> identity.

Based on the above introductory biases and "logic," in what follows, some attempt will be made to examine certain facets of black education and suggest areas which may be of relevance to the development educator.

Planning and Control

In much of the world education is centrally controlled and centrally planned. The United States system is different. The local school district has, until recently, been regarded as the most viable educational unit for the purposes of control and planning. However, a number of influences are changing this pattern. Tax bases, particularly in urban areas are shrinking, and Boards must look toward Federal and State grants for maintenance of the status quo and for implementing new programs. Both State and Federal authorities to different degrees use these grants and subsidies as levers to implement their own plans and policies. In effect, planning and control is becoming more centralized through financial and legal sanctions. New technology assists in the creation of larger systems. Standardized tests and national publishing houses assist in the centralization process.

Nationally the educational system is changing, albeit it would seem, rather slowly. Superimposed on this already changing system are the demands and needs of the Negroes and to a lesser extent other colored minority groups such as Puerto Ricans and Mexicans. The stresses which these groups introduce into the system and which planners must take cognizance of can very briefly be stated as follows:

1. Rapid demographic changes. The rapid takeover, particularly in urban areas, of whole school districts by Negroes who have different cultural/class/racial backgrounds from those who move out.

2. The move amongst Negroes for local control. There is some reversion to the idea of the old ethnic-type neighborhood schools or small districts which supposedly perpetuate local life styles and values. The New York situation is an excellent case study of what will probably happen elsewhere in large city systems.

3. Negroes identifying particular needs and insisting that the educational system cater to these. At the moment many poor Negro children and their parents see the current "standard" type of education offering in public schools as a pre-vocational exercise. It is seen as the only "sure-fire" method of getting a job. Upon the quality of such education will depend one's ability to get employment. In effect, it has become a pre-vocational ritual.

4. Negroes insisting on changes in the personnel teaching in the schools. Not only is there an insistence that the orientation of white racist teachers be changed but also an insistence that more black teachers be recruited for black schools. This movement tends to run counter to the demands of AFT local union branches which demand that teachers and their associations have more control over classroom discipline, teacher postings, salary scales, etc. In other words there are signs of "black power"/ "teacher power" confrontation.

5. Negroes demanding curriculum changes which emphasize black as opposed to Negro identity through literature, music, history, etc., not only in black schools but in white schools also.

Some of the questions which these trends raise for the national and local planner are:

1. Where there are rapid demographic changes affecting student enrollment, how can existing educational structures maintain a sensitivity to the needs of clientele groups? What kinds of local and larger groupings allow enough local participation to avoid head-on conflicts between different racial groups within a particular system?

2. How much and what kind of local control is desirable? Small, isolated insular education systems controlled locally tend to create their own pathologies vis-a-vis larger systems. On the other hand, remote control in a large system can be dysfunctional in terms of local needs. Large organizations can also create their own pathologies as the universities are beginning to find out. Whether educational units, in the wider U. S. milieu, can be organized on the basis of racial symbols alone has yet to be seen. Using language, racial and religious symbols, the Black Muslims may be able to establish their own educational system(s).[4]

3. The Negro, as has been pointed out, is placing heavy emphasis on the need for education for employment. Should the schools pursue this logic to its ultimate conclusion and establish genuinely vocational schools (in the traditional sense) so that children from ghettos can go directly into industrial and service jobs? Considering the expense involved in this type of education, the rapid obsolescence of many kinds of occupations and the possibility that by matching young Negroes to particular vocations at early ages, certain kinds of inequalities, vis-a-vis "advantaged" groups, may be perpetuated. In many ways the problem parallels that found in different kinds of developing nations. Pre-industrial,poor-nation students are interested in bread-and-butter education which will allow them to move rapidly into work which will give them enough money to buy food and "essentials" for their families. In post-industrial nations many students perceive and can afford to view education as something more than a pre-vocational exercise. The implication

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[4]For an excellent exposition on the systems approach as it applies to metropolitan (including Black) education, see: Havighurst, Robert J, ed. Metropolitanism: Its Challenge to Education. Chicago: National Society for the study of Education (67th Yearbook), 1968.

of this observation is that the needs of poor Negroes, and poor Whites, are very similar to persons in low-income countries where competition for jobs is keen and the usual or "standard" educational ritual is often seen as having a decided pre-vocational and survival function. In the U. S. context, with its present industrial and union structures and with rapid automation, the Negro may find it extremely difficult to secure a foothold on the economic ladder, whether he has a "standard" or a vocational education in the traditional sense.

4. As suggested, the Negro is clamoring for more control of teaching personnel. This is interesing because other new groups are also now starting to compete within the school system for the recognition of their interests. Two of these will be mentioned. The conservative American Federation of Teachers, recognizing that teachers' interests were perhaps not well represented by the National Education Association and local associations, has gained much allegiance.[5] Current aspirations of the AFT include upgrading the economic status of teachers, increasing professional autonomy and improving classroom conditions. Some of its aims are in direct conflict with the aspirations of black leaders who wish to move teachers in other directions. Big business is interested in updating educational technology and also less directly in changing the "coolie" role of the teacher. This latter group can further the Negro cause in schools through new textbooks, etc., but must get teachers and administrators on their side to do so. The planner must take into cognizance the existence and growth of these competing groups and whether their objectives are consistent with the welfare of students. The prominent role of teachers' and even students' asaociations in Latin American nations is well known. In the Pittsburgh situation, it is interesting to note the growing militancy of black high-school students.

5. The urge for curriculum changes is significant. Ironically, such topics as black history will be rewritten to emphasize, romanticize and idealize the same kinds of phony culture heroes as do white history books at present. Negro music runs the risk of becoming "classical" and possibly atrophying as it becomes a compulsory topic of study. However, revamping curricula will emphasize Negritude and Negro identity and may

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[5]An analysis of the extent of AFT-supported teacher strikes and community responses at the time of strikes is included in a recent edition of the NEA Education News (September 23, 1968).

engender the kind of self-respect which the school system has hithertofore disvalued in Negro school children.[6] Curriculum changes will count for nil however, unless teachers change attidudes and teaching styles. Initially the new Negro symbols may help unify the Negro as a group and assist individuals to eventually identify themselves as worthwhile members of the wider human race. However, to the extent that these symbols tend to isolate the Negro and emphasize race as the chief or only factor in individual and group worth, they will, in terms of the larger system,be pathological. The symbols, viewed in long-term perspective, will have initial value in terms of group organization and the articulation of interests. Unwittingly the educational planner and curriculum developer become parties to minority group politics to the extent that they encourage Negroes to adopt separatist symbols.

In terms of relevance for the development educator, the crux of the total problem is that the U. S. educational system must assist society:

1. to rehabilitate and compensate the Negro for past injustice
2. to ensure that not only is there some kind of equality of educational opportunity but some kind of equality in terms of results, especially in terms of vocational placement.

The development educator in newly developing areas faces exactly the same kinds of problems when he is called on to help tailor an educational system to accommodate various minority groups. Hostility, even muted and uni-directional, may or may not be an element to be considered by the planner especially where integration is an expressed aim of policymakers.

Research

In educational research, as in other social science field, research is mounted on the basis of perceived problems whether it is in the area of learning or in race relations in the schools.

Unfortunately, perhaps, much educational research in U. S. schools has been exclusively under the aegis of educational psychologists. This approach, with its emphasis on individual student "adjustment" to often unclear ethical and moral norms, and with a stress on the "measured" behavior of groups to students in such arbitrary units as calssrooms and schools, has tended to stress the need for conformity. Minority groups such as Negroes and Mexicans have been recognized but they have been studied in the various school systems with a view to pointing up their deviant behaviors and characteristics vis-a-vis the bulk of the school population, e.g., through "intelligence"tests. The cultural anthropologists with their emphasis on cultural

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[6]Chastain, J. Dale. "A Footnote on Negritude." Vidya, No. 2, Spring 1968, pp. 29-36.

relativity and pluralism and the derivative concept of discontinuities in experiences in cross-cultural home/school/community situations have tended not to do research in the schools.

Some areas in U. S. schools in which researchers, perhaps anthropologists, psychologists, sociologists, working jointly, could perhaps expand their activities would be:

1. Some systemic behavior descriptions of how schools seem to function in various class/racial/cultural ecologies. Vairables could be the type of staff (racial/ethnic/class composition), type of student population, and type of community. Emphasis would be on methodology.[7]

2. Some attempts to point up the differences in child-rearing practices and adaptive social structures in different racial/ethnic groups and the resultant kinds of social relationships which schools need to recognize.[8]

3. Some attempt to compare epistemological and ontological frameworks of various racial/cultural student groups with those of alien teachers and administrative personnel. This could point up differences in "reality worlds" between teachers and the students. Such research might also point up sources of age-group misunderstandings and differences, i.e., nature and causes of generation gaps.

4. Studies aimed at indicating whether the perceived curricula needs of students and communities in economically depressed areas might differ from those of students in more affluent areas and how accommodation to these needs might be effected.

5. The kinds of educational intervention which lead to an amelioration of negative attitudes and behavior toward minority groups.[9]

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[7]For example, the recent study by Nicholas. (Nicholas, Lynn N., Effect of Socio-economic Setting and Organizational Climate on Problems Brought into Elementary School Offices. Detroit: College of Education, Wayne State University, Report CRP 2394, 1965).

[8]Leading generally in the directions indicated by Ruth Landes (Culture in American Education, New York, Wiley, 1965).

[9]A lead was given in this field a number of years ago by F. T. Smith (An Experiment in Modifying Attitudes Toward the Negro. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1943).

6. Further studies in language and socio-conceptual styles of minority groups and the relation of these to "achievement."[10]

7. The effects of poverty. Whether poverty is a cause or an effect of Negro social organization. Possible educational strategies to break the poverty cycle if relationships can be discovered.[11]

8. Causes within the educational system of Negro alienation and the devaluation of education and school personnel and preventive strategies.

9. Effects of lack of pre-natal care, malnutrition and patent drugs on learning and behavior.

10. System integration, i.e., the educational system (s) with other social systems.[12]

It is suggested that even although the results of such research (except in "9") may not have direct application to similar problems found in developing nations the kinds of research methodology certainly would be transferable.

Economics of Black Education

Planners are interested in the cost of education and are turning toward the concept of cost/benefit analyses. If mechanistic concepts such as X number of graduates in Y year for $Z are used as criteria, this accounting approach is fine. It is an appropriate approach, too, when used in assessing the cost of training people to acquire certain vocational skills especially where vocational skills are measurable and job certification is dependent on the results of such training. However, when the concept is applied to social (including political) payoffs from the educational system, the cost/benefit concept is a difficult one to apply. This is relevant to the current plight of black people in the United States. There is a feeling that if financial resources are applied

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[10]See research done here in Pittsburgh by Rosalie Cohen("The Relation Between Socio Conceptual Styles and Orientation to School Requirements." LRDC paper presented at the 26th Annual meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology, Washington, D. C., May 4-7, 1967).

[11]See a recent provocative work by Charles A. Valentine,especially Chapter 6 on alternative views of poverty (Culture and Poverty: Critique and Counter-Proposals, Chicago, University of Chicago, 1968.

[12]Metropolitanism: Its Challenge to Education, op. cit., Chapter XVI.

to education this will solve not only vocational skill shortfalls among Negroes but also solve difficult social problems. The recent international math study suggests that devoting larger portions of a nation's resources to education does not, in itself, insure that skill being sought after, such as ability in math, will be acquired nor will it engender in the student "healthy" attitudes toward education, teachers, and society at large. It is suggested that greater expenditure on black education at present may have other than the desired effect if it is thought that the particular education currently in vogue will reduce social tensions. Given current communal social stress, learning, as traditionally measured in the schools, particularly in the high schools, may be declining. This, particularly where white middle-class teachers are being overtly disvalued, and black high-school students are becoming political activists.

From a somewhat different quarter, one could have a look at "who pays and who says." In the United States setting, Boards of Education often administering relatively small school districts control the spending of monies collected from local taxes. These boards generally exercise strong control in the selection of school personnel through their superintendents. In effect, what happens, especially in rural districts, is that personnel are employed who have local affiliation and are "safe" in terms of local community values. This has the effect of perpetuating a particular kind of acculturation in the schools. State and Federal intervention, via grants, subsidies, etc., is usually directed toward securing specific changes in an educational system, e.g., state equalization of per-pupil expenditure. This may or may not conflict with the local mores. In the case of black communities, especially in cities where poverty is a characteristic, the local tax base may be small and this is usually reflected in the expenditure per pupil. Ironically, in this situation where "quality" education is needed most, there may be great value conflict between the black community (often highly mobile), the teachers (the new middle class), the Board (often a remnant of a white political machine system), and central government (welfare oriented).

The Board and the central government may both feel that they are administering money which does not directly belong to the community and therefore feel no incumbency to answer to the community for its expenditure. This system, with its various small districts and sources of finance, does lead to a good deal of surplus administrative structure, red tape, and a hodge podge of educational priorities. One cannot help but contrast this to the centralized, socialistic types of educational systems in many developed nations where teachers are posted anywhere in the system, per-pupil expenditure is the same all over, and the priorities are generally determined by the national government. One cannot also help but feel that this, despite its obvious shortcomings not mentioned here is, in terms of minority groups, a little more equitable than the U. S. system where students may be disadvantaged because of their place of birth and residence.

Thanks to past patterns, the U. S. educational system does not now seem to be a very efficient way of distributing financial resources or skilled personnel so that black communities can receive equitable or even

preferential treatment. However, as was pointed out previously, finance, despite the usual U. S. equation of per-pupil expenditure with quality education (benefit), is but one factor in cost/benefit analysis. Probably terms like "effectiveness," "quality," "benefits," etc., will be bandied about and debated as long as there is education. In the final analysis, and this is particularly relevant in the black community at present, the educational system in any locality will be increasingly evaluated on how it addresses itself to current problems such as racial issues, vocational training, education for modern living in which leisure (unemployment?) will become more common. Whether the system currently has the capability of addressing itself to these issues is another question.

Innovative Approaches in Black Education

Such programs as Head Start, Upward Bound, etc., have been established as compensatory programs for the "deprived." Programs for very young children are based on certain assumptions about the necessity for particular kinds of early psycho/sensory experience. Programs for older children and youth seem to be based on the assumption that more of the same thing both in terms of teaching styles and curricula will compensate for indifferent school experiences. However, it is the writer's hunch that much damage in the Negro (and poor white) community is caused through inadequate diets--french fries, candy, processed food, patent drugs, etc., at a very young age and that the damage is reflected in later cognitive sluggishness and is not reversible. Even where there is no physiological brain damage, it is suggested that stretching the school experience out from, say, two to 18 years and much longer if college and graduate school are contemplated, is a very risky undertaking. The process becomes a rather inhibiting ritual in which students may passively learn a great deal about things but seldon learn through participating in "real" activities. The whole question of individuals having their formal education all in one block at the beginning of thier lives and during the early years of their adulthood is open to debate especially now that technology provides access to a "hidden curriculum" and knowledge becomes obsolescent so quickly. Additionally, as pointed out previously, the school experiences for black children can be traumatic because of student/teacher social experimental background differences.

Unfortunately, the current system is saddled with bureaucratic, corporation-style school organizations in which "deviant" kinds of learning situations are not encouraged. The current school systems have their own logic and styles and these are not too dissimilar from those found in other kinds of social collectives such as the police, the military, and in business. Unfortunately, the black attitude toward education is often traditional in terms of classroom "management," books, bells, counselors, syllabi, grades and tests.

The current problems suggest that innovation may take a number of forms. Among these would be:

A. Different kinds of school personnel. Preferably teachers who can fill the role of brokers, e.g., Negro teachers whose backgrounds are similar

to those of their students but who can operate comfortably in the white community. A knowledge of applied anthropology, linguistics, political science, etc., might assist the teacher to perveive differences between various communities and to have some inkling about such things as perceptual relativity and alternative models for examining society. Much more effective use could be made in the schools of underemployed people in the community. Both youth and adults could play a much greater part in the acculturation process of young children. This would also help create ties between various age groups and between the school and the community.

B. Greater participation by the black community. Older students, faculty, and black leaders in discussions could decide on what various groups want from the education system. Much more openness by the school is necessary about curriculum development and what operations will result in what kinds of skills and behaviors. There should also be much more discussion on how these skills can be utilized in the "real" world.

C. Use of as many alternative approaches as possible, including media to create favorable learning situations, with less rigid scheduling and greater use of modules.

D. Emphasis on cooperation between students especially between the younger and the older and, if possible, the abolition of competitive grading systems.

E. Improvement of physical facilities so that schools are more functional in terms of individual privacy, small-group activities, and school/community integration. However, children will probably need to go to the community rather than vice versa. Community education by younger people is vital.

F. Social studies which "tell it as it is and has been" for blacks without the current Pollyanna overtones. Emphasis is needed on the Negro arts in both black and white schools.

G. Establishment of black institutes of education hopefully working toward integrating learning, teaching and community activities which are at present generally looked at as being separate entities. Such institutes might also improve methods of indicating to the white communities, through the results of research, how black educational problems are also their problems and how such problems have been created by wider white community apathy and by deliberate subtle policies of exclusion.

Such strategies as busing, preferential scholarship to white colleges, and school-district re-organization may help avoid a future black/white schism, but present trends suggest that segregation is increasing rather than decreasing in city areas. Because of this and because white schools per se are not generally edifices of excellence, black communities should not be reluctant to set up alternative systems which emphasize innovation and stress a much better kind of a school/community articulation. Federal and state grants to private institutes could made this a realistic alternative. However, most Negro communities are conservative in terms of deviating from the norm in terms of what is traditionally "good" in schools.

The Social Ecology of Black Schools

The last few years have seen rapid changes in the social climate of black schools. The climate can be described in terms of militancy with overt signs of frustration and impatience for the redressing of past wrongs. The unrest in the community is reflected in the schools, especially in high schools where students have accepted the symbols and strategies of black leaders and a minority are prepared to implement disruptive tactics. To many of the conservative school personnel the black movement, and its effects on "their" students, is considered to be a pathology. Their response to something they cannot understand is fear and a desire to withdraw from the total ghetto situation. This syndrome applies equally to some middle-class Negro teachers who could, in normal circumstances, act as brokers in the school and the community. Current and past riots have directly and indirectly accelerated the withdrawal of other class, caste and cultural brokers in the black community thus accentuating even more the qualities that typify a black ghetto--isolation, a corner of a city into which the unwanted are swept, an area where jungle law is thought to prevail. The school in common with other services tends to be neglected and a self-perpetuating cycle, characterized by poverty and feelings of failure and futility, becomes established.

The black ghetto has its own culture which contains many adaptive institutions such as matriarchies and serial monogamy. Although, as in all cultures, there is a logic to life, the quality of human existence is harsh. Apart from the difficulties created by a disagreeable physical environment, there is much fragility in human relationships. This may be caused in part by an environment where competition, even for the basic necessities of life, is keen. A climate of acute scarcity is perceived to prevail. Another contributory factor may be overcrowding and an almost total lack of privacy. Self-perceptions of being second rate and of being grossly materially deprived, in terms of the white man's TV and movie idols, does little for self-images. The vulgar materialism of the middle class as it is typified through mass-media advertisements is individually internalized and eventually becomes a group norm--external gaudy symbols become status indicators and play an important part in the self-validation value stretch. TV, the alternative "education system," works well in the ghetto and is probably much more pervasive than the school in the lives of young ghetto dwellers. Tragically, the development dimension potential of mass media is largely ignored or misunderstood.

Moynihan, in his now famous 1965 report, attempted to link the low status of the Negro with unstable family structure and suggested strategies to reinforce the nuclear (patrifocal) family via the father. The opposition to his thesis is well known. Civil righters were quick to question his statistics and to place the blame for the present state of the Negro squarely on the cumulative effects of white discrimination rather than on pathologies inherent in Negro social organization.

The point to grasp is that Negroes do have their own language styles and their own behavioral norms. Obviously, there has been great strength

in their social structures if persistence of such structures over time is a criterion. Before any social scientist can point out social pathologies, he must be very clear about his own conceptions of social normalcy. Until recently the tendencies have been for social science representatives to point out black "differences" from WASP social norms and use these differences as indicators of deviancy or pathology. Ironically, the greatest pathology (racism) turns out to be located in the WASP community rather than in the Negro community.

The social differences in the Negro/WASP communities have persisted over time, partly as a function of isolation. Negro schools run by WASPS have been a point of contact but obviously the schools have not dented the social structures of the Negro in the past. Perhaps the most profound influence more recently has been that of the mass media, and TV in particular. However, selective forces have been operating in acculturation à la the media. For instance, young Negro children often find no difficulty in decoding WASP TV language but have great difficulty in encoding (speaking) it.

A number of variables must be studied in any study of the effects of a Negro community on a WASP-type school and vice versa, i.e.,

-- location of the school--northern or southern, rural or urban, suburban or city.
-- kind of community--racial composition, stable or unstable (in terms of migrancy), similarity to larger surrounding population (ecology), age structure, socio-economic characteristics.
-- kind of school--racial composition of school and faculty, stability (mobility) of students and faculty, degree of community involvement via parents' associations in school activities and vice versa, age, ethnic, etc., and socio-economic background of faculty, large or small school in terms of enrollment.
-- kind of supportive school organization--large or small school district, age, ethnic and political affiliations, socio-economic level of policy-making and administrative personnel, stability (length of tenure) and place of residence of such personnel, ratio of administrative to teaching personnel, financing arrangements, degree of involvement of community, faculty and administrative personnel in curriculum development, frequency of curriculum, and organizational changes, activities of unions and other teachers' and pupils' associations.

Obviously national strategies are possible to effect social change. However, the translation of these broad strategies into action programs requires a good deal of knowledge of small-scale social patterns and likely effects of particular kinds of educational intervention--the effects of which do not become obvious sometimes for many years.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is suggested that black education is a very proper subject for those who are interested in development and international education. This because:

1. Black people are a minority group who must under the present setup be catered for in a public-school system. In many developing nations there are minority groups who have remained separate physically and/or perceptually from the main stream for similar reasons; i.e., racial and cultural differences, inhospitality by a "prestigious" group, etc.

2. The educational system (if one uses a systems approach) operating in black communities may in terms of comparative education methodology be compared to that operating in many colonial and ex-colonial areas. If one sees societies in terms of classes it may be examined in terms of class structure on a comparative basis.

3. If the effects of Negritude and the Moslem faith are thought to be important variables in the school and to have similar effects on students in different nations including the United States, use of the comparative approach is also appropriate.

4. Where nations are interested in strategies to ameliorate the lot of "disadvangated" groups and/or to secure integration, the United States provides some excellent case studies in how or how not to do this via an educational aystem. It also provides, nationally, a very good insight, via mass media, to the various "respect revolutions" occurring not only amongst black but among young white people also.

5. Because the United States has the resources in terms of personnel, money, etc., adequate research can be done on the effectiveness of different kinds of educational strategies in terms of effectiveness in black communities. It can also examine the capability of the system and the sub-systems to achieve the demands placed on them by society and by various groups.

6. Again, because the United States has the resources, it can, through AID programs, etc., experimentally innovate contemporaneously in, say, black ghettos and in overseas urban areas where conditions appear to be similar.

7. In terms of personnel, the United States can use persons with experience overseas to work in black communities and can assess their effectiveness vis-a-vis other educational personnel. Problems and successful strategies can also be compared by this group with those found in the other cultures in which they have previously worked.

8. In terms of research methodology, replication of approaches is possible. This is especially so in the field of anthropology. More small-scale

studies similar in methodology to those done in other cultures could be done in U. S. black communities. (However, let the researcher be aware of charges of "academic imperialism.")

9. If one thinks of education in terms of structures and of defineable educational entities (complete educational systems extending from kindergarten through to university) and separate black and white structures, especially in the U. S. South, one can examine and compare these in terms of their operations, manpower objectives, etc., (until recently Negro universities prepared students only for certain occupations because the others were closed). Similar situations exist in other nations where there are parallel, but separate, educational structures. One could also examine and compare the rate of functional and structural integration.

10. In terms of the effect of mass media, especially TV and ETV, on minority groups of children, some worthwhile research could be done in black communities and in developing areas using similar techniques.

In the context of the program in International and Development Education at the University of Pittsburgh, the most likely objection, to the relevance of black education in the United States to the interests of those in the program, would be that it does not directly concern itself with newly developing regions. The writer's counter to this would be that, until recently, economic development was used almost as the sole criterion even by some educators for assessing levels or rates of development. In over-all terms, the United States is economically well developed. However, quite large segments of the U. S. population, including Negroes, could be, by any standard, classed as marginal both as to the skilled manpower needs of the economy and in terms of its benefits. Even if one persists that one should look only at the over-all national economic picture there is another objection. Economic development to the writer is not the sole measure of development nor does it seem to be entirely instrumental as the one determinant in achieving development in the social and political spheres. If it is conceded that this is a possibility and that the United States although economically well developed is possibly still developing (or is even underdeveloped!) in other spheres the study of black education becomes very relevant.

II. BLACK EDUCATION AND BLACK SOCIETY IN THE UNITED STATES A BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR DEVELOPMENT EDUCATORS

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